

# CONFEDERATE LEADERS IN THE FORTY-FOURTH CONGRESS.

Who They Are—Their Aims and Opinions.

## A DEMOCRATIC COUNTER REBELLION.

Conquering the Union they Failed to Destroy.

When the rebellion begun, or rather while its agents held control of the Government, such men as Lamar, Reagan, Singleton and others being in Congress and privy thereto, through their ally, the Democratic Secretary of the N. Y., scattered our ships of war to the furthest seas. There were two vessels left to protect the Atlantic coast. Twenty-eight ships of war, mounting eight hundred and seventy-four guns, were laid up dismantled, so that weeks must elapse before they would be sent to sea. On the 16th of January, 1861, the East India squadron numbered five sloops of war; the Brazilian, one frigate and two sloops; the Pacific, seven vessels, five being at Panama, and the other two scattered; thirteen others were in the Mediterranean, on the coast of Africa, in Vera Cruz, or on the coast of Cuba, one other, the frigate Niagara, had been sent to Japan on special service.

It was these men, and those who lead in the rebellion for which they fought, who took possession of the forts, arsenals, mints, custom-houses, post offices, and public moneys of the United States. It was their ally, John B. Floyd, who, as Secretary of War, removed illegally one hundred and fifteen thousand stands of arms from Northern to Southern arsenals, and also caused to be sold a large number more, besides heavy ordnance, which all or nearly all fell into Southern hands. They caused the withdrawal from the peaceful fields of industry, during a period of four years, of not less than three million men—the re-enlistments on both sides of the civil war swelled the total to not less than four millions. The number called out by the Union was 2,759,049, the number obtained was 2,690,401. Of this force, the total number killed outright or who died of wounds was 95,089; from disease and other causes, 190,349; making a total of 285,438 deaths in actual service. There are at least one-third more to be added from causes directly traceable to exposure and hardships. The total number of pen-

sioners is not less than 230,000 persons. When these men inaugurated rebellion, in defense of slavery and State sovereignty, the total cost of the pension roll was (1861) \$1,089,218.75, in 1874, it was over \$29,000,000. The war they inaugurated entailed a debt of at least \$2,500,000,000. It costs annually about \$150,000,000. The expenditures thus rendered necessary are more than 53 per cent. of the whole. Yet it is these men and their allies and representatives that demand that the Government shall be surrendered to them. The issue is a plain one: Are the men and party that attempted to destroy the Union in the interests of slavery to be entrusted with its administration and defense in behalf of a sectional policy and State sovereignty? The answer cannot be doubt. The old battle cries are heard.

We'll rally round the Flag boys,  
We'll rally once again,  
Shouting the battle-cry of Union.

The following facts are compiled chiefly from the "Congressional Directory" for the Forty-Fourth Congress, a work compiled by Major Ben. Perley Poore, clerk of printing records, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, or whose records are shown by the Confederate war records now in the archives of the War Department. The authority is quoted in the following extracts from the sources above stated, and from others:

**ALABAMA.**—*Senator* GEORGE GOLDTHWAITE, of Montgomery; was adjutant general of the State of Alabama during the war.

*2d District—Representative* JEREMIAH N. WILLIAMS, of Clayton; entered the Confederate army in 1861 as major.

*3d District—Rep.* PAUL BRADFORD, of Talladega; served in the Confederate army throughout the war.

*5th District—Rep.* JOHN H. CALDWELL, of Jacksonville; was elected solicitor for the tenth judicial circuit by the legislature, at the session of 1859-'60; re-elected at the session of 1863-'64. This statement shows that

he was an officer of the rebel State government, and also of President Johnson's reactionary movement.

*6th District—Rep. GOLDSMITH W. HEWITT*, of Birmingham; entered the Confederate army in 1861, and served until severely wounded at the battle of Chickamauga in 1863.

*At large—Rep. WILLIAM HENRY FORNEY*, of Jacksonville; entered the Confederate army at the commencement of hostilities in 1861, as captain. He was successively promoted major, lieutenant-colonel, colonel, and brigadier-general; surrendered at Appomattox C. H.; was a member of the State Senate of Alabama 1865-66, (under the Johnson provisional government.)

*At large—BURWELL BOYKIN LEWIS*, of Tuscaloosa; served in the Confederate army as an officer in the Second Alabama cavalry.

**ARKANSAS—1st District—Rep. LUCIEN C. GAUSE**, of Jacksonport; entered the Confederate army in 1861, and served throughout the war, attaining the rank of colonel. This person served with Major General Fagan, of whose actions in the Steele-Rice Arkansas campaign of April, 1864, so conservative authority as Harper's "History of the Great Rebellion" states in relation to the capture of a Federal train at Marks' Mills that, according to custom, all negroes found in the command after surrender were shot. These were not soldiers, but teamsters, servants, and contrabands.

*2d District—Rep. WILLIAM F. SLEMONS*, of Monticello; was a member of the Arkansas State (secession) convention in 1861; entered the Confederate army in July, 1861, and served through the war. He was a brigade commander under Fagan in the campaign against Steele, in April, 1864, at Poison Springs, near Camden, Ark., when nearly two hundred men belonging to the First Kansas colored (79th U. S. C. T.) regiment were murdered after being wounded or surrendering. He was also in the campaign under Price, in September and October, 1864, by which Western Missouri and Kansas were invaded and partly desolated. The atrocities perpetrated were numerous. An account of them may be found in a rebel book published at Cincinnati, entitled "Shelby and His Men"—the author of which served with Slemons, and in the "Army of the Border," by R. J. Hinton, and "The Annals of Kansas," by D. W. Wilder, State Auditor of Kansas.

In the rebel account of the Price campaign in Missouri and Kansas the following description of the atrocities that were enacted is given. It relates to the division under "Joe" Shelby, but is true of the whole force:

"No prisoners were taken, and why should there be? \* \* He was fighting the Devil with fire, and smoking him to death. Haystacks, houses, barns, produce, crops, and farming implements were consumed before the march

of his squadrons, and what the flames spared the bullets finished." Colonel Hinton thus describes what he saw: "They had entered Kansas. The first house across the line was the scene of a dastardly murder. An old, gray-haired minister of the gospel lay dead, with white locks reddened by his own blood. The women and children were frantic and crazed by terror and grief. The fence and outhouses were burning. The interior of the cabin presented a woe-begone appearance. A perfect saturnalia of destruction seemed to have reigned. Everything not portable had been broken \* \* The frightened inmates were stripped of nearly every article of clothing on their persons, or in the cabin."—*Army of the Border*, p. 190, 1865.

*4th District—THOMAS MORTIMER GUNTER*, of Fayetteville; was a delegate from Washington county in the Arkansas State Convention of May, 1861; served in the Confederate army as colonel Thirteenth Arkansas volunteers. He was also in Fagan's command.

**FLORIDA—Senator CHARLES W. JONES**; was born in Ireland. He was a brigadier-general in the Confederate army, as the Confederate War Department records establish.

**GEORGIA—Senator THOMAS MANSON NORWOOD**, of Savannah; was a member of the Georgia (rebel) legislature in 1861-'62. In July, 1875, the Senator delivered an address, supposed to be non-political in character, at the commencement of Emory College, Georgia. From a report of this effort published in the Democratic press of that State, it appears Mr. Norwood declared that he charged "the Yankees as having waged the last war, not for patriotism or the Constitution, but for dollars and cents. He deplored the fact that the Government was controlled 'by a low order of intellect and a low order of men'—condemned the fifteenth amendment and the carpet-bagger. The thirteenth and fourteenth amendments he declared to be probably the only permanent results of the war. He said the negro had been left among a race superior to him in every particular to work out his own destiny, and that there would never be unity of the two races; that the negro as a race would never acquire either education or wealth; that he would never occupy the same social plane with the white race; that the common school system would in time prove a failure as to the negro; that it cannot succeed except among a homogeneous people, and a people who are on a social equality; that he would never appreciate nor exercise intelligently the privileges of citizenship; that the failure to contribute to the educational fund would in time lead to separate taxation for separate schools, and the system as to this race would fail; that the next generation of them will not be equal to the present as laborers and citizens \* \* \* In the course of time the people of

the North would themselves demand of him either colonization or the surrender of the elective franchise, and the fifteenth amendment will be repealed. \* \* To be a harmonious people, we must be a homogeneous people; the negro as a slave was always a disturbing element, and will be an irritation in the republic as a freeman."

Senator JOHN B. GORDON, of Atlanta; at the beginning of the war entered the Confederate army as captain of infantry, and was promoted major, lieutenant-colonel, colonel, brigadier-general, major-general, and to the command of the second army corps; commanded one wing of General Lee's army at Appomattox Court-House; was wounded in battle eight times. Senator Gordon's position since the surrender, as well as his view of the act of secession, and the subsequent war thereon, have been given at length by himself in his testimony before the famous Ku-Klux Committee of Investigation. The report thus summarizes views he then held: "His testimony is that the magnanimity and deference shown by General Grant and his officers towards the army of the South at the time of and after the surrender led them to hope they would be permitted to go home, resume their places and rights as citizens, organize the State governments, and again resume their relations to the General Government, as if there had been no rebellion. After President Lincoln's death, and Johnson's announcement of his policy, they became apprehensive that some hanging and general confiscation would follow. When relieved of those apprehensions, and terms of reconstruction and the fourteenth amendment were proposed by Congress, they began to complain of want of good faith, and when terms were imposed they became sullen and defiant, looking upon the Government as having outraged them, and deprived them of their rights." General Gordon said: "We feel a sense of wrong as honorable men. We do not think we have done anything in the dark." Of secession he said: "We thought we were right. I am one of those who thought so at the time. I thought I had a perfect right to do as I did. \* \* By the course that has been pursued to us \* \* we have been disappointed, and the feeling of alienation \* \* has in this way been increased more than by any other one fact." Gordon declared that "We did not believe the act of secession was treason. I do not believe it now. I do not expect ever to believe it." In regard to secret organizations for the advancement of Southern interests General Gordon testified as to what he termed a "brotherhood," admitting that he was asked to become the chief in Georgia; that it was widely extended; that the members took an obligation tantamount to an oath; that it was confined to white men, and that no white Republican was found in

it; that it was "mainly confined to soldiers of the army," (Confederate,) men who were "ready for any emergency," &c. The likeness of this to the Ku-Klux was unmistakable. When Gordon entered the Senate, the Republicans having a majority in both bodies, he very carefully excluded from the sketch in the "Congressional Directory" of that date all reference to his Confederate military record, while as seen above in the later Directory he states it at length. There is a Democratic majority in the House, and it is honorable to parade treason in behalf of slavery and disunion.

*1st District—Rep.* JULIAN HARTRIDGE, of Savannah; delegate to the Charleston Democratic Convention in 1860; was in the Confederate army during first year of the war; was a member of the Confederate Congress.

*2d District—Rep.* WILLIAM E. SMITH, of Albany; entered the Confederate army as a volunteer, in the Fourth Georgia Volunteers. After the State seceded; was elected captain in April, 1862; lost a leg in the defense of Richmond, at King's School-House, June 25, 1862; was elected to the Confederate Congress in 1863.

*3d District—Rep.* PHILIP COOK, of Americus; was elected to the State Senate of Georgia, in 1863, (rebel;) was elected a member of the State Convention of 1865, called by President Johnson; entered the Confederate service in 1861, as a private; was commissioned first lieutenant, lieutenant-colonel, colonel, and in August, 1863, brigadier-general.

*4th District—Rep.* HENRY R. HARRIS, of Greenville; was a member of the Georgia (secession) Convention of 1861.

*5th District—Rep.* MILTON A. CANDLER, of Atlanta; was a member of the State (rebel) House of Representatives in 1861-'63; of the State Constitutional Convention in 1865—the body called by President Johnson.

*8th District—Rep.* ALEXANDER HAMILTON STEPHENS, of Crawfordsville; was elected to the Secession Convention of Georgia in 1861; opposed and voted against the ordinance of secession in that body, but gave it his support after it had been passed by the convention against his judgment as to its policy; was elected by that convention to the Confederate Congress which met at Montgomery, Alabama, February 4, 1861, and was chosen vice-president under the Provisional government by that Congress; was elected vice-president of the Confederate States for the term of six years under what was termed the permanent government, in November, 1861; visited the State of Virginia on a mission under the Confederate Government in April, 1861, upon the invitation of that State; was one of the commissioners on the part of the Confederate Government at the Hampton Roads Conference in February, 1865; was elected a Representative to the Twenty-eighth, Twenty-ninth, Thirtieth, Thirty-first,

Thirty-second, Thirty-third, Thirty-fourth and Thirty-fifth Congresses, when he declined a re-election; was elected to the Senate of the United States in 1866, by the first legislature convened under the new Constitution (the Johnson provisional movement), but was not allowed to take his seat. Mr. Stephens has rendered the sectional South the most important aid ever since he entered public life. In 1850 he assisted to draw up, and earnestly advocated the famous "Georgia platform," which declared that the State of Georgia "will, and ought to resist, even (as a last resort,) to a disruption of every tie which binds her to the Union, any future act of Congress abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia without the consent and petition of the slaveholders thereof; or any act abolishing slavery in places within the slaveholding States purchased by the United States for the erection of forts, magazines, dock yards, navy yards, and other like places; or in any act suppressing the slave trade between slaveholding States; or in any refusal to admit as a State any territory applying because of the existence of slavery therein; or in any act prohibiting the introduction of slaves into the Territories of Utah and New Mexico; or in any act repealing or materially modifying the laws now in force for the recovery of fugitive slaves."

In a speech to the Georgia legislature, November, 1860, Mr. Stephens said that he stood on the "Georgia platform," as he had always done since its adoption, and if the Republicans attempted by an act of Congress to exclude the slaveholders from the Territories with their slave property no man would be more willing or ready than he to disrupt every tie which bound the States together. But he advised the people to wait until the Republican policy was adopted before they tried secession. The "Secessionists" favored immediate secession. In a letter to a strong secessionist in New York he gave the following reason for advocating the policy of delay:

"The great and leading object aimed at by me at Milledgeville was to produce harmony on a right line of policy. If worst comes to worst, as it may, and our State has to quit the Union, it is of the utmost importance that all our people should be united cordially in this cause. This, I feel confident, can only be effected on the line of policy I indicated."

Before a similar body, February, 1866, Mr. Stephens used the following notable language:

"Whatever may be said of the loyalty or disloyalty of any in the late most lamentable conflict of arms, I think I may venture safely to say that there was on the part of the great mass of the people of Georgia and of the entire South, no disloyalty to the principles of the Constitution of the United States.

\* \* \* As for myself I can affirm that no sentiment of disloyalty to these great principles of self-government, recognized and embodied in the Constitution of the United States, ever beat or throbbed in breast or heart of mine. To their maintenance my whole soul was ever enlisted; and to this end my whole life has heretofore been devoted, and will continue to be the rest of my days—God willing. \* \* \* Whatever differences existed amongst us arose from differences as to the best and surest means of securing these great ends, which was the object of all. *It was with this view and for this purpose secession was tried. That has failed.* \* \* \* *Our only alternative now is either to give up all hope of Constitutional liberty, or retrace our steps, and to look for its vindication and maintenance in the forums of reason and justice, instead of on the arena of arms. In the court and halls of legislation, instead of on the field of battle.*" \* \* \*

Although Mr. Stephens has not publicly advocated the Confederate cause as zealously since July, 1873, as before that time, yet in his speech in Congress in opposition to the civil rights bill, January 5, 1874, and in a Fourth of July oration at Atlanta, 1875, he presented with his accustomed adroitness the arguments in favor of State sovereignty. He is the ablest of Southern thinkers and leaders, and his book "The War Between the States" is in title and contents the arsenal of that doctrine.

9th District—Rep. BENJAMIN H. HILL, of Atlanta; was a member of the Confederate States Senate, and of the Georgia Secession Convention of 1861. Mr. Hill was regarded in the Confederate Senate as the Confederate President's other self. Mr. Davis spoke of him as his "right hand." He was chairman of its judiciary committee, and reported and advocated the following resolutions or bills:

"[That every person pretending to be a soldier or officer of the United States who shall be captured on the soil of the Confederate States after the first day of January, 1863, shall be presumed to have entered the territory of the Confederate States with the intent to incite insurrection and abet murder; and, unless satisfactory proof be adduced to the contrary before the military court before which the trial shall be had, shall suffer death. This section shall continue in force until the proclamation issued by Abraham Lincoln, dated at Washington on the 22d day of September, 1862, shall be rescinded, and the policy therein announced shall be abandoned, and no longer."

"2. Every white person who shall act as a commissioned or non-commissioned officer, commanding negroes or mulattoes against the Confederate States, or who shall arm, organize, train, or prepare negroes or mulattoes for military service, or aid them in any military enterprise against the Confederate States, shall, if captured, suffer death.

"3. Every commissioned or non-commissioned officer of the enemy who shall incite slaves to rebellion, or pretend to give them freedom under the aforementioned act of Congress and proclamation, by abducting or causing them to be abducted or inducing them to abscond, shall, if captured, suffer death."

Jefferson Davis issued, December 22d, 1862, a proclamation declaring outlaws General Butler and the men of his command; also consigning to death, or slavery, or capture, officers commanding and men serving in colored regiments.

To enforce this proclamation of Mr. Davis' a law was passed on the first of May, 1863, by the Confederate Congress, reported from the judiciary committee by Mr. Hill, of Georgia. Section 4 of the law reads as follows:

"Sec. 4. That every white person being a commissioned officer, or acting as such, who during the present war shall command negroes or mulattoes in arms against the Confederate States, or who shall arm, train, organize, or prepare negroes or mulattoes for military service against the Confederate States, or who shall voluntarily aid negroes or mulattoes in any military enterprise, attack, or conflict in such service, shall be deemed as inciting servile insurrection, and shall, if captured, be put to death or be otherwise punished, at the discretion of the court.

"Sec. 5. Every person being a commissioned officer, or acting as such in the service of the enemy, who shall during the present war excite, attempt to excite, or cause to be excited a servile insurrection, or who shall incite or cause to be incited a slave to rebel, shall, if captured, be put to death, or be otherwise punished, at the discretion of the court.

"Sec. 7. All negroes and mulattoes who shall be engaged in war or be taken in arms against the Confederate States, or shall give aid or comfort to the enemies of the Confederate States, shall, when captured in the Confederate States, be delivered to the authorities of the State or States in which they shall be captured, to be dealt with according to the present or future laws of such State or States."

In a late speech made in Georgia, Mr. Hill said:

"The great final struggle to settle the question whether Constitutional liberty on this continent shall be continued or not is to be fought in 1876. Can it be successfully fought with the ballot? \* \* \* If we fail at the ballot-box in 1876 by reason of force, a startling question will present itself to the American people. \* \* \* I tell you, my friends, there is no peace for this country until Radicalism is crushed; not only crushed, but despised; not only despised, but made infamous forever throughout America. If we must have war—if we can-

not preserve this Constitution and Constitutional government by the ballot; \* \* \* if folly and wickedness—if inordinate love of power shall decree that America must save her Constitution by blood, let it come. I am ready. But let one thing be distinctly understood, that if another war should come we of the South will rally under the old flag of our fathers. It always was our flag. We were never faithless to it, and our enemies were never faithful to it."

In his speech in the House of Representatives, January 11, 1876, Mr. Hill gave further expression to these ideas when he declared that "the South is here, and here she intends to remain. Go on and pass your qualifying acts, trample upon the Constitution you have sworn to support, abnegate the pledges of your fathers, incite rage upon our people, and multiply your infidelities until they shall be like the stars of heaven or the sands of these shores, without number; but know this, for all your iniquities the South will never again seek a remedy in the madness of another secession. We are here; we are in the house of our fathers, our brothers are our companions, and we are at home to stay, thank God.

\* \* \* We come charging upon the Union no wrongs to us. The Union never wronged us. The Union has been an unmixed blessing to every section, to every State, to every man of every color in America. We charge all our wrongs upon that 'higher law.' We wronged the Union grievously when we left it to be seized and rent and torn by the men who had denounced it as a 'covenant with hell and a league with the Devil.'"

KENTUCKY—7th District—Rep. JOSEPH C. S. BLACKBURN, of Versailles; entered the Confederate army in 1861, and served throughout the war. It is charged that his service was almost wholly that of a guerilla, engaged in harrying the Unionists of Kentucky.

LOUISIANA—1st District—Rep. RANDALL LEE GIBSON, of New Orleans; joined the Confederate army as a private soldier, and was promoted to the command of a company, regiment, brigade, and division.

2d District—Rep. R. JOHN ELLIS, of New Orleans; graduated in March, 1861; joined the Confederate army five days afterward, and served throughout the war.

4th District—Rep. WILLIAM M. LEVY, of Natchitoches; was a member of the State legislature of Louisiana in 1861; was a Presidential elector on the Breckinridge and Lane ticket in 1860; served in the Confederate army, participating in the engagements on the peninsula in 1861 and 1862, and thereafter, until the close of the war, in the adjutant and inspector general's department on the staff of General Dick Taylor.

MISSISSIPPI—1st District—Rep. LUCIUS Q. C. LAMAR, of Oxford; was elected to the

Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Congresses of the United States, and resigned in 1860 to take a seat in the Secession Convention of his State; in 1861, entered the Confederate army as lieutenant-colonel of the Nineteenth regiment, and was promoted to the colonelcy; in 1863, was entrusted by President Davis with an important diplomatic mission to Russia.

*4th District*—*Rep.* OTHO R. SINGLETON, of Canton; was a representative from Mississippi in the Thirty-third, Thirty-fifth and Thirty-sixth Congresses of the United States, retiring January 12, 1861; was a representative from Mississippi in the Confederate Congress from 1861 until 1865.

**MISSOURI**—*Senator* F. M. COCKERELL, of Warrensburg; entered the Confederate army as a colonel in the Missouri State Guard, and was promoted to major-general, serving till the rebellion closed.

*4th District*—*Rep.* ROBERT A. HATCHER, of New Madrid; was a member of the State (rebel) convention in 1862, and a member of the Confederate Congress in 1864-'65.

*8th District*—*Rep.* BENJAMIN J. FRANKLIN, of Kansas City; entered the Confederate army as a private, was promoted captain, and served throughout the war. He was an active pro-slavery politician in Kansas, being known, in fact, among those called "Border Ruffians."

*11th District*—*Rep.* JOHN B. CLARK, Jr., of Fayette; at the commencement of the late war he entered the Confederate army as a lieutenant, and was promoted successively to be captain, major, colonel, and brigadier-general. Clark served in Marmaduke's division, and was a brigade commander in the Price raid of 1864.

**NORTH CAROLINA**—*Senator* MATT W. RANSOM, of Northampton county, (post office Weldon); entered the Confederate army, serving as lieutenant-colonel, colonel, brigadier-general, and major-general and surrendered at Appomattox.

*Senator* AUGUSTUS SUMMERFIELD MERRIMON, of Raleigh; was a member of the legislature of North Carolina in 1860-'61; was solicitor (rebel) of the 8th judicial district of North Carolina from 1861 to 1865.

*1st District*—*Rep.* JESSE J. YEATES, of Murfreesboro'; served in the Confederate army, and was major of the 31st regiment North Carolina troops; was solicitor (rebel) of the 1st judicial circuit of North Carolina from 1861 to 1866.

*3d District*—*Rep.* ALFRED MOORE WADDELL, of Wilmington; served in the Confederate army as lieutenant-colonel of cavalry.

*4th District*—*Rep.* JOSEPH J. DAVIS, of Louisville; served in the Confederate army as captain.

*5th District*—*Rep.* ALFRED MOORE SCALES, of Greensborough; was a member of the Thirty-fifth Congress; volunteered at the beginning of the late civil war as a private in the Con-

federate army; was afterward promoted and served as captain, colonel, and brigadier-general, and for the war.

*6th District*—*Rep.* THOMAS SAMUEL ASHE, of Wadesborough; was elected in 1861 to the House of Representatives of the Confederate States, and to the Senate of the Confederate States in 1864. A Mr. Ashe, of North Carolina, voted in Congress for the repeal of the Missouri compromise.

*7th District*—*Rep.* WILLIAM M. ROBBINS, of Statesville; was an officer in the Confederate army during the whole war.

*8th District*—*Rep.* ROBERT BRANK VANCE, of Asheville; was elected a captain of a company in the Confederate service in 1861; was twice elected colonel of the 29th North Carolina regiment, and was appointed brigadier-general in 1863.

**TENNESSEE**—*Senator* DAVID MCKENDREE KEY, of Chattanooga; entered the Confederate army in 1861, and served through the entire war.

*3d District*—*Rep.* GEORGE GIBBS DIBBLE, of Sparta; was elected to the State (rebel) Legislature of Tennessee, in August, 1861; entered the Confederate army as a private, was elected lieutenant-colonel, and promoted colonel and brigadier-general of cavalry; was detailed to escort the executive officers and treasure of the Confederate Government after the evacuation of Richmond.

*4th District*—*Rep.* HATWOOD YANCY RIDGLE, of Lebanon; entered the Confederate army as a private in 1861, and served through the war.

*6th District*—*Rep.* JOHN F. HOUSE, of Clarksville; was a member of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States from Tennessee; at the expiration of his term of service in said body he entered the Confederate army, and continued therein until the close of the war.

*7th District*—*Rep.* WASHINGTON CUREAN WHITTHORNE, of Columbia; was assistant adjutant general in the Provisional army of Tennessee in 1861, and was afterward adjutant general of the State, which position he held under Governor Harris until the close of the civil war.

*8th District*—*Rep.* JOHN D. C. ATKINS, of Paris; was lieutenant-colonel of the 5th Tennessee regiment in the Confederate army in 1861; was elected to the Confederate Provisional Congress in August, 1861; was re-elected in November, 1861, and again elected in November, 1863.

*10th District*—*Rep.* CASEY YOUNG, of Memphis; entered the Tennessee army as a private; was afterward appointed assistant adjutant general upon the staff of General William H. Carroll, and was subsequently assigned to the command of a regiment of cavalry in General Chalmer's division. He also served under Forrest at the time of the massacre of Fort Pillow. In a report made

by a Congressional committee that investigated this atrocity at the time, the scenes that followed the occupation of the fort, which was treacherously gained by advancing under cover of a flag of truce, are thus described:

"The rebels commenced an indiscriminate slaughter, sparing neither age nor sex, white nor black, soldier or civilian. The officers and men seemed to vie with each other in the devilish work; men, women, and even children, wherever found, were deliberately shot down, beaten, hacked with sabres; some of the children, not more than ten years old, were forced to stand up and face their murderers while being shot; the sick and wounded were butchered without mercy, the rebels even entering the hospital building and dragging them out to be shot, or killing them as they lay there unable to offer the least resistance. \* \* \* No cruelty which the most fiendish malignity could devise was omitted by these murderers. \*

\* The huts and tents in which many of the wounded had sought shelter were set on fire, both that night and next morning, while the wounded were still in them. \* \* \* These deeds of murder and cruelty ceased when night came on, only to be renewed next morning, when the demons carefully sought among the dead lying about in all directions for any of the wounded yet alive, and those they found were deliberately shot." The following dispatch was sent by Forrest to Polk: "Rebels killed five hundred men, (no prisoners.) The officers in the fort were killed. Over one hundred citizens who had fled into the fort to escape conscription ran into the river and were drowned." Of the conduct of Colonel Casey Young's troops, and of himself, of course, who were under Chalmer's command, and aided in this capture and massacre, Forrest said in his official report: "I desire to acknowledge the prompt and energetic action of Brigadier General Chalmers, commanding the forces around Fort Pillow. \* \* He has reason to be proud of the conduct of the officers and men of his command for their gallantry and courage in assaulting the enemy's works without the assistance of artillery or bayonets."

**TEXAS**—*Senator SAM BELL MAXEY*, of Paris; educated at West Point, was elected State Senator for four years in 1861, but declined, and raised the 9th Texas infantry for the Confederate States army, of which he was colonel; was promoted to brigadier-general in 1862, and major-general in 1864; commanded the Indian Territory military district 1863-'65, and was also superintendent of Indian affairs. During the war Quantrille, the Missouri guerilla, was sheltered in Maxey's department after his atrocious massacres at Lawrence and Baxter's Springs, Kansas, placed him under the ban of outlawry.

**1st District**—*Rep. JOHN H. REAGAN*, of Palestine; was elected in 1857 a representative to the Thirty-fifth Congress from the first district of Texas, and was re-elected in 1859 to the Thirty-sixth Congress; was elected to the secession convention of Texas in 1861, and was elected, with others, by that convention deputy to the Provisional Congress of the Confederacy; was appointed postmaster-general of the Provisional Government of the Confederacy, March 6, 1861; was re-appointed on the permanent organization of the Confederate Government in 1862, and occupied the position until the close of the war; was also appointed acting secretary of the treasury of the Confederate Government.

Mr. Reagan, as rebel Postmaster General, was asked by Jefferson Davis for his views on the question of surrender during the pendency of the Sherman-Johnston negotiation in North Carolina, 1865. General H. V. Boynton, in his critical work reviewing General Sherman's memoirs, publishes a photolithographic copy of Reagan's memorandum for terms of armistice, as also his letter in response to Davis. In both these documents the most ultra State sovereignty ideas are advocated and set forth. Mr. Reagan was a candidate for delegate to the recent Constitutional Convention in Texas. This was after his election to Congress. During the canvass Judge Reagan strongly opposed the common schools, declared it unjust to tax the well-to-do in order to educate the poor; advocated the re-establishment of the whipping post as a punishment for petty larceny and petty crimes; and proposed that all other convictions should be punished by imprisonment in the penitentiary, and consequent disfranchisement. 'This is one method of reducing the colored vote.

**2d District**—*Rep. DAVID B. CULBERSON*, of Jefferson; was a member of the State House of Representatives of Texas (rebel) in 1866, and to the State Senate (Johnson) 1866; entered the Confederate army as a private in 1862, and was promoted until he became adjutant general with the rank of colonel.

**3d District**—*Rep. JAMES W. THROCKMORTON*, of McKinney; elected to the State (rebel) Senate in 1863, and served until the surrender of General Lee; was elected a delegate to the State Constitutional Convention under President Johnson's proclamation, and was chosen presiding officer of that body; was elected Governor of Texas in June, 1866, for a term of five years; was inaugurated August 3, 1866, and removed by order of General Sheridan, August 9, 1867.

**VIRGINIA**—*Senator ROBERT E. WITHERS*, of Wytheville; entered the Confederate army as major of infantry in April, 1861, and during the same year was promoted colonel of the 18th Virginia regiment, which he commanded until retired in consequence of numerous disabilities.

command the post at Danville, Virginia, which position he held until the close of the war.

*1st District—Rep.* BEVERLY B. DOUGLAS, of Ayletts; entered the Confederate army as first lieutenant in Lee's Rangers, and was successively promoted to the rank of major of the 5th Virginia cavalry.

*2d District—Rep.* JOHN GOODE, Jr., of Norfolk; was elected in 1860 a member of the State (Secession) Convention of Virginia, which passed the ordinance of secession; was twice elected a member of the Confederate Congress, and served in that capacity from February 22, 1862, until the close of the war; was appointed a member of the National Democratic Executive Committee in 1868, and reappointed in 1872 for four years.

*5th District—Rep.* GEORGE C. CABELL, of Danville; volunteered as a private soldier in the southern army; in June, 1861, he was commissioned major by Governor Letcher, and assigned to the 18th Virginia infantry, Colonel Withers, Pickett's division, Longstreet's corps; participated in most of the battles fought by that portion of the army of Northern Virginia to which he was attached; was twice wounded, and left the army at the close of the war, with the rank of colonel.

*6th District—Rep.* JOHN RANDOLPH TUCKER, of Lexington; was attorney-general of Virginia from 1857 to 1865. Is also borne as a captain on the Confederate army rolls.

*7th District—Rep.* JOHN T. HARRIS, of Harrisonburg; was a member of the Thirty-sixth Congress of the United States; was a member of the Confederate Legislature from 1863 to '65.

*8th District—Rep.* EPPA HUNTON, of Warrenton; was elected to the State Convention of Virginia, which assembled at Richmond in February, 1861; served through its first session, and then entered the Confederate army as colonel of the 8th Virginia infantry; was promoted after the battle of Gettysburg, and served through the residue of the war as brigadier-general.

*9th District—Rep.* WILLIAM TERREY, of Wytheville; was in the military service of Virginia in the "John Brown raid," in 1859; entered the Confederate army in April, 1861, as lieutenant in the 4th Virginia infantry, "Stonewall Brigade," and served during the war.

**WEST VIRGINIA—***Senator* ALLEN TAYLOR CAPERTON, of Union; was a member of the

State (Secession) Constitutional Convention of Virginia in 1861; was elected by the Legislature of Virginia a member of the Confederate States Senate, and served until the close of the war in 1865.

*2d District—Rep.* CHARLES JAMES FAULKNER, of Martinsburg; was elected to the House of Representatives in the Thirty-second, Thirty-third, Thirty-fourth, and Thirty-fifth Congresses, serving from December 1, 1851, until March 3, 1859; was nominated in 1859 by President Buchanan as Minister Plenipotentiary to France, and confirmed by the Senate; returned to the United States in August, 1861, and was held as a prisoner of state upon no charge or imputation against his fidelity as a minister, but from an apprehension that he would unite his fortunes with those of the Southern Confederacy; was exchanged in December, 1861, for Hon. Alfred Ely, member of the United States House of Representatives from New York, then a prisoner in Richmond; entered the Confederate army as a member of General Stonewall Jackson's staff, and served as his chief of staff until the death of that officer, having written all the official reports that bear his signature. Mr. Faulkner, it is charged, did, in 1866, or '67, take the oath then required in West Virginia before he could practice at the bar of the State courts. This oath required him to swear he had not borne arms, &c., against the Union or the State. When charged with the falsity of this, Mr. Faulkner declared he had never held a military commission; that his position was an honorary one, and that he was with Jackson only out of friendship, and because that General was very careless about his papers.

This record of the Confederate leaders now encamped in the National Capital, amply justifies the belief that they are so thoroughly representative of Southern sentiment as not to be trusted with the control of the Union. In the years that have followed the war, only one man who served in the Union army has ever been elected to Congress by Democratic votes from any district in the ex-rebel States. This is a sufficient reason for fearing a united and sectional South. It is what the Democracy design. By that sign they conquer. If they elect the President it is as the servant of the man who, first failing to destroy the Union, now seek to rule it to the same end.